

Message Text

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FM SECSTATE WASHDC

TO AMEMBASSY PARIS IMMEDIATE

C O N F I D E N T I A L STATE 111874

EXDIS - PARIS PLEASE PASS SECRETARY UPON HIS ARRIVAL

FOL RPT LIBREVILLE 1180 ACTION SECSTATE INFO LISBON MAPUTO
USUN NY 16 MAY 77 QUOTE

C O N F I D E N T I A L LIBREVILLE 1180

EXDIS

FOR THE SECRETARY FROM YOUNG

DEPT PASS SECRETARY

DEPT FOR CHRISTOPHER, TARNOFF ONLY

NSC FOR BREZINSKI

LISBON FOR LAKE

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, AF

SUBJECT: MEETING WITH BONGO AND STRATEGY FOR MAPUTO CONFERENCE

1. I LEFT PORUTUGAL THIS MORNING AFTER VERY GOOD TALKS
YESTERDAY WITH THE VICE PRESIDENT ON HIS MEETING WITH VORSTER AND
ON OUR STARTEGY AT THE MAPUTO CONFERENCE. AMONG OTHER
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THINGS WE DISCUSSED WERE SOME OVERALL IMPRESSIONS I HAVE
DEVELOPED FROM MY TALKS WITH HOUPHOUET IN ABKDJAN
(ABIDJAN 4918) ACHEAMPONG AND FELLI IN ACCRA (CABLED FROM
LISBON) AND TOLBERT AD DENNIS IN MONROVIA (
MONROVIA 3358). LIKE OTHER AFRICAN LEADERS , THEY ARE MORE
FAVORABLY DISPOSED TO THE AMERICAN GOVERNMENT NOW THAN
AT ANYPOINT SINCE THE EARLY SIXTIES. THEY ARE EXCITED BY THE NEW

ATTENTION THIS ADMINISTRATION IS GIVING AFRICAN QUESTIONS AND FEEL THE CONTINENT-BOTH ITS PROBLEMS AND OPPORTUNITIES-- IS FINALLY RECEIVING THE ATTENTION THEY DESERVE. AT THE SAME TIME, THEY ARE CONCERNED THAT WE TAKE THE AFRICAN MODERATE STATES FOR GRANTED AND DEVOTE A DISPROPORTIONATE AMOUNT OF ATTENTION AND ECONOMIC AID TO THE MORE RADICAL STATES. THEY ARE DISTURBED ABOUT GROWING SOVIET INVOLVEMENT IN THE CONTINENT. IT SEEMS TO ME THAT WE SHOULD DEVELOP A STRATEGY FOR DEALING WITH THIS SENSITIVITY AND ANXIETY OF THE MODERATES, AND THE DEEP CONCERN THEY EXPRESS ABOUT SOVIET INTENTIONS AND ACTIONS IN AFRICA.

2. I INTEND TO EXPLORE THE CONCERNS OF AFRICAN STATES FURTHER WITH PRESIDENT BONGO IN LIBREVILLE TODAY, AND WITH OTHERS IN MAPUTO. WITH BONGO'S ASSUMING THE PRESIDENCY OF THE OAU IN JUNE, I BELIEVE IT IMPORTANT TO BEGIN NOW TO DO ALL WE CAN TO CONVINCE HIM AND THE OTHER MODERATES OF OUR SUPPORT AND IN TURN TO BE IN A BETTER POSITION TO GET THEIR HELP WHEN WE NEED IT.

3. REGARDING MAPUTO, I PLAN TO CONSULT INTENSIVELY WITH OUR WESTERN ALLIES AND WITH KEY AFRICAN LEADERS WHO WILL HAVE A MAJOR VOICE IN THE ATMOSPHERE OF THE CONFERENCE. KEY IN THAT LAST REGARD ARE SALIM OF TANZANIA, HARRIMAN OF NIGERIA, AND KAMANA OF ZAMBIA. ALL THREE AT THE NEW DELHI NON ALIGNED MEETING THIS SPRING WERE INSTRUMENTAL IN PREVENTING LAUGHATE FROM EMERGING WHICH COULD JEOPARDIZE OUR EFFORTS IN SOUTHERN AFRICA. AT MAPUTO, THE ATMOSPHERE WILL BE DIFFERENT BECAUSE THE FOCUS WILL BE CONFIDENTIAL

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EXCLUSIVELY ON NAMIBIA AND ZIMBABWE. BUT SALIM, HARRIMAN AND KAMANA ALL RESPONDED VERY ENTHUSIASTICALLY WHEN I TOLD THEM I WAS LEADING A US DELEGATION TO MAPUTO. THEY WELL KNOW AND APPRECIATE THAT OUR DECISION TO ATTEND WAS INSTRUMENTAL IN GETTING THE FRENCH, BRITISH AND GERMANS TO ATTEND

SINCE PERHAPS THE BIGGEST COMPLAINT THE AFRICANS HAVE OF WESTERN STATES AT THE UN IS THAT WE IGNORE THEM AND REFUSE TO ENGAGE THEM AS FULL PARTNERS IN SUBSTANTIVE DISCUSSIONS, OUR COLLECTIVE PRESENCE AT MAPUTO WILL HAVE IMPORTANT PSYCHOLOGICAL BENEFITS, EVEN WHEN WE ARE FORCED TO POINT OUT THAT WE MUST JOINTLY DISAGREE WITH AN AFRICAN POINT OF VIEW.

4. I AM FULLY IN ACCORD WITH THE APPROACH AGREED IN NEW YORK BY THE WESTERN GROUP (USUN 1504). WE ARE PLANNING TO MEET WITH OUR WESTERN FRIENDS AS SOON AS WE LAND IN MAPUTO. WHILE WE WILL NOT KNOW THE ATMOSPHERE IN MAPUTO UNTIL WE ARRIVE, I THINK ALL WESTERN MEMBERS AGREE

THAT IIT IS UNLIKELY THE FINAL DECLARATION WILL BE SOMETHING WE CAN SUPPORT. THE WESTERN GOAL MUST THEREFORE BE TO MAINTAIN AS MUCH RECEPTIVITY AS POSSIBLE REGARDING OUR INITIATIVES IN SOUTHERN AFIRCA. WE ARE THEREFORE GOING TO SCHEDULE AN INTENSIVE SERIES OF CONSULATIONS BETWEEN MYSELF AND THE LARGE NUMBER OF KEY AFRICAN LEADERS WHO AR IN ATTENDANCE. OUR PURPOSE WILL BE TO PREVENT FOLLOW UP ACTION SFLOWING FROM MAPUTO WHICH WILL PLACE INSURMOUNTABLE ROADBLOCKS IN THE PATH OF PEACEFUL SETTLEMENT IN SOUTHERNAFRICA.

5. WE APPRECIATE THE DEPARTMENTS GUIDANCE REGARDING DISCUSSION WITH THE KEY ACTORS IN THIS ISSUE(STATE 107483). I AGREE THAT IT IS PARTICULARLY IMPORTANT TO TALKTO NUJOMA, THE FRONT LINE STATES AND NIGERIA, MACHEL, AND ANGOLA. IN THESE TALKS I WOLD PLAN TO HAVE JAMES MURRAY OF UKUN AND DON PETTERSON WITH ME SO THEY

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CAN IMPART SOME OF THE ATMOSPHERE AS WELL AS THE SUBSTANCE OF THE CAPETOWN TALKS.

6. I AM SCHEDULED TO SPEAK ON THE 19 AT THE CONFERENCE. USING THE DEPARTMENTS DRAFT (STATE 107640) WE HAVE PREPARED ANOTHER DRAFT, WHICH WE DISCUSSED WITH TONY LAKE AND THE VP PARTY IN LISBON AND WHICH TAKE INTO ACCOUNT THEIR COMMENTS. AS INSTRUCTED BY THE DEPARTMENT, WE SHALL ALSO TAKE INTO ACCOUNT TALKING POINTS AGREED TO BY THE FIVE WESTERN DELEGATIONS IN NEW YORK. WHEN WE SEE WHAT THE PREVAILING ATMOSPHERE AT MAPUTO IS, AND WHAT SOME OF THE AFRICAN HAVE BEEN SAYING BOTH IN THEIR SPEECHES AND PRIVATELY TO US, WE MAY NEED TO MAKE ADDITIONAL REVISIONS.

7. REGARDING MY TRIP TO SOUTH AFRICA, WHILE I AM SORRY THAT THE UNIVERSITY APPEARANCE WILLNOT TAKE PLACE, I AM CONFORTABLE WITH PRESENT SCHEDULE. AS I HAVE TOLD THE VICE PRESIDENT AND THE DEPARTMENT, I AM COMMITTED TO GO AHEAD WITH THE VISIT. WE MAY YET HAVE SOME PROBLEMS WITH THE PRESS AS A RESULT OF THE SOUTH AFRICANS ATTITUDE ABOUT MY PLANE. IF I HAVE TO TAKE COMMERCIAL TRANSPORT, ANY TRAVELLING PRESS WILL HAVE TO MAKE THEIR OWN ARRANGEMENTS. THIS WILL BE DIFFICULT FOR THEM TO DO AND THEY ARE LIKELY TO DRAMATIZE THE PLANE ISSUE. THE VICE PRESIDENT SAID IN A LISBON PRESS CONFERENCE THAT WE WANTED TO TAKE OUR PLANE BUT AS YOU KNOW, THE SUBSEQUENT INDICATIONS FROM THE SOUTH AFRICANS ARE ALL NEGATIVE. IF WE GET A FORMAL REFUSAL, WE CAN TRY TO FACILITATE THEIR INDEPENDENT TRAVEL.

8. THE MESSAGE I MUST TAKE TO SOUTH AFRICA IS NECESSARITY
OUT OF PEACEFUL CHANGE AND THE PERSUASIVENESS OF THAT
MODERATE MESSAGE TO SOUTH AFRICANS, BLACK AND WHITE, HAS
ONLY BEEN ENHANCED BY THE FUROR THE SOUTH AFRICANS HAVE
MANAGED TO CREATE REGARDING THE NTIRE TRIP. THE DPARTMENTS
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DRAFT REFLECTS CLOSELY THE LENGTHY DISCUSSION I HAD
WITH DEPARTMENT OFFICERS WHO DRAFTED IT. I WOULD VERY MUCH
APPRECITE ANY COMMENTS OR ADDITONS YOU WOULD MAKE IN
WHAT I PLAN TO SAY.

9. A FINAL AND UNRELATED POINT. I NOTE THA T YOU WILL BE
MEETING WITH WALDHEIM IN GENEVA. AS YOU MAY RECALL, BOTH
THE PRESIDENT AND YOU RAISED WITH WALDHEIM OUR STRONG
DESIRE THAT HE REPLACE LABOUISSSE IN UNICEF WITH
ANOTHER AMERICAN-- IN THIS CASE JIM GRANT. WALDHEIM
IN THE MEANTIME HAS COME UNDER INTENSIVE PRESSURE FROM
THE SWEDES TO APPOINT THE HEAD OF THEIR AID PROGRAM,
MICHANEK, TO THAT POST. ALTHOUGH THE DECISION IS THE
SYGS AND SHOULD NOT BE THE RESULT OF AN INTERNATIONAL
DIPLOMAITC POPULARITY CONTEST,THE SWEDES HAVE
AGGRESSIVELY BEEN ROUNDING UP DIPLOMATIC SUPPORT IN
PREPARATION FOR THE MAY UNICEF BOARD MEETING. I
WOULD HOPE YOU CAN STRESS AGAIN TO WALDHEIM THAT THIS
POST IS CRITICAL TO S. IT IS ESSENTIAL TO OUR OVERALL
EFFORTS TO IMPROVE THE IMAGE OF THE UN. HE IS NOW
THINKING OF A COMPORMISE THAT WOULD REQUEST LABOUISSSE TO
REMAIN ON FOR ANOTHER YEAR, THAT THE SWEDES ALLOW WALSHEIM
TO APPOINT THEIR CANDIDATE TO REPLACE JOHN HANNAH AS HEAD
OF THE WORLD FOOD COUNCIL, THAT A BRIT REPLACE THE US
NATIONAL NOW THE ASSISTANT SECRETARY GENERAL FOR ADMINISTRATION
AND A US NATIONAL REPLACE THE JAPANESE NATIONAL
NOW HEADING UN PRESS OPERATIONS. I BELIEVE WE SHOULD ACCEPT
THIS GENERAL APPROACH, BUT PRESS WALSEIM
TO MOVE AHEAD WITH THE GRANT APPOINTMENT. LABOUISSSE HAS
TOLD US HE FEELS HE DEFINITELY SHOULD RETIRE NOW AND
NEXT YEAR WE MAY NOT BE ABLE TO POSITION A QUALIFIED
CANDIDATE FOR REPLACEMENT. STEIGMAN

UNQUOTE CHRISTOPHER

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